

## Reformulation of Post-Divorce Support Arrangements in the Indonesian Family Law System

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### ABSTRACT

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This study aims to analyze the regulation of post-divorce maintenance for former wives and children within the Islamic family law system in Indonesia and to formulate a legal reformulation model that provides greater legal certainty and fairer protection. This research employs a normative juridical method using a maqasid sharia approach, supported by empirical analysis of religious court decisions. The findings reveal that the obligation to provide child maintenance remains attached to the father even after divorce, while the maintenance rights of former wives depend on the type of divorce and the conditions of the marital relationship. In judicial practice, several problems remain, including regulatory disharmony, disparities in judges' decisions, unclear standards for determining maintenance amounts, and weak enforcement mechanisms. Differences in regulations concerning the age limit of children and the determination of maintenance amounts often create legal uncertainty and weaken the protection of women and children after divorce. This study proposes a reformulation through the harmonization of regulations, the establishment of national standards for child maintenance based on the father's income and the child's actual needs, the strengthening of former wives' maintenance rights, and the development of more effective enforcement mechanisms. These reforms are expected to create a more just, effective, and protective family law system for women and children after divorce in Indonesia.



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### Introduction

The divorce phenomenon in Indonesia continues to increase year after year. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the number of divorce cases in 2024 reached nearly 400,000. This figure demonstrates that divorce is no longer a marginal issue but a significant social reality that requires serious attention from a legal, social, and religious perspective. Divorce not only ends a marriage but also has far-reaching legal consequences, including the obligation to provide financial support to the ex-wife and any children born of the marriage.<sup>1</sup> Conceptually, post-divorce maintenance encompasses several forms. First, iddah maintenance, which is the husband's obligation to provide maintenance to his ex-wife during the iddah period.<sup>2</sup> Second, mut'ah, which is a gift of property or money as a form of consolation for

<sup>1</sup>Total 399,921 data can be viewed <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/3/YVdoU1IwVmlTM2h4YzFoV1psWkViRXhqTIZwRFVUMDkjMw==/jumlah-perceraian-menurut-provinsi-dan-faktor-penyebab-perceraian-perkara---2024.html?year=2024>

<sup>2</sup>Hikmatiar, E. (2018). Iddah Living in Divorce Cases. *Mizan: Journal of Islamic Law*, 4(1).

a divorced wife. Third, child support, which covers daily living expenses, education, healthcare, and other basic needs.<sup>3</sup>All forms of alimony are intended to ensure the continued well-being of children and ex-wives, preventing them from socially and economically suffering due to divorce. However, in practice, post-divorce alimony arrangements in Indonesia remain problematic. Existing legal regulations are scattered across various instruments, including statutes, implementing regulations, and unwritten laws such as the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). These provisions are not integrated and often lead to disharmony in norms, resulting in legal uncertainty.

In Article 80 KHI it is stated that the husband is obliged to protect his wife and provide all the necessities of household life according to his ability. Article 149 of the KHI emphasizes that in the event of a divorce, the ex-husband is obliged to provide appropriate *mut'ah* to the ex-wife, provide living, *maskan* (residence), and *kiswah* (clothing) to the ex-wife during the *iddah* period, as well as providing *hadhanah* for their children.<sup>4</sup>

However, the KHI does not provide a standard measurement for the amount of maintenance or the duration of the obligation. Consequently, disparities arise in court rulings.<sup>5</sup>The Supreme Court, through several Supreme Court Circular Letters (SEMA) and formulations by the Religious Chamber, has also attempted to provide guidance. For example, SEMA Number 1 of 2017 and SEMA Number 3 of 2018 emphasize that judges are *ex officio* obliged to consider *madhiyah* maintenance, *iddah*, *mut'ah*, and child support even if not required in the petition. SEMA Number 2 of 2019 even emphasizes that judges must include a clause in their rulings to increase child support by between 10% and 20% annually, excluding education costs, to adjust for inflation and rising living costs.

This policy has indeed brought progress, but it is merely a recommendation and is not always followed by lower-level judges. As a result, disparities in decisions persist. The main problem arising from the above legal framework is disharmony. First, concerns the age limit for children. The Child Protection Law defines a child as anyone under 18 years of age. However, in religious court practice, many decisions mandate child support until the child reaches 21 years of age. This discrepancy creates legal uncertainty regarding the duration of a father's obligation to support a child.

Second, the issue of the type of child support. The Marriage Law only emphasizes the father's obligations to children, while the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) adds *iddah* and *mut'ah* support for ex-wives. Meanwhile, the Domestic Violence Law emphasizes the criminal aspect of neglect. As a result, there is overlap and a lack of synchronization between regulations. Third, the amount of child support. There is no single regulation that provides a clear formula for calculating child support after a divorce. Whether it is based on a percentage of the father's income, the regional minimum cost of living standard, or the child's actual needs is left to the judge's discretion. As a result, decisions between courts can vary significantly, even when the factual circumstances are nearly identical.

This research is crucial. Reformulation of post-divorce alimony arrangements must be directed toward establishing clear, consistent, and enforceable standards, both in terms of the type, amount, and duration of alimony. This reformulation must also prioritize the best interests of children and strengthen protection for women, the most vulnerable. Thus, family law in Indonesia can truly function to provide legal certainty, substantive justice, and tangible protection for children and women after divorce, while simultaneously aligning with sharia values and human rights principles.

This research uses the *maqasid sharia* approach, or Islamic legal philosophy. This approach was chosen because the topic I am researching relates not only to the normative aspects of legislation but also to the philosophical objectives of family law itself. Within the *maqasid* framework, law is understood not merely as text, but as an instrument for achieving public welfare and protecting basic human rights. Therefore, this research views law as a means to realize the protection of children and women after divorce, as desired by the principles of *hifz al-nafs* (protection of life), *hifz al-nasl* (protection of offspring), and *hifz*

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<sup>3</sup>Safitri, DA, & Ahmad, MJ (2024). Parental responsibility for child support after divorce. Court review: Journal of Legal Research (e-ISSN: 2776-1916), 4(01), 34-56.

<sup>4</sup>Heniyatun, H., Sulistyarningsih, P., & Anisah, S. (2020). Provision of *Mut'ah* and *Iddah* Maintenance in Divorce Cases. *Prophetika: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 39-59.

<sup>5</sup>Rahman, T. Disparity in Divorce Case Decisions in Religious Courts According to the Concept of *Maslahat Sa'id Ramadhan Al-Bûthi* and Legal Certainty (Master's thesis, Faculty of Sharia and Law, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta).

al-mal (protection of property). The type of research used is normative juridical research or library legal research. The legal material collection technique I used is library research. This research is limited to the study of the regulation and implementation of post-divorce maintenance obligations in the context of Muslim marriages resolved through religious courts in Indonesia. The scope of the research focuses on maintenance arising as a legal consequence of the dissolution of marriage due to divorce, which includes maintenance for the iddah period, mut'ah, and child maintenance (hadhanah). The discussion is directed at analyzing the norms contained in relevant laws and regulations, particularly the Law on Marriage, the Law on Child Protection, the Compilation of Islamic Law, and the Supreme Court's policy through the Supreme Court Circular Letter relating to post-divorce maintenance obligations in cases examined by religious courts.

## Method

The research method I used was descriptive-analytical. This method was chosen because it aligns with the research objectives, namely to systematically describe the conditions of post-divorce alimony arrangements and then analyze them using relevant legal theories. This research employed the maqasid sharia approach, or Islamic legal philosophy. This approach was chosen because the topic I am researching relates not only to the normative aspects of legislation but also to the philosophical objectives of family law itself.

The legal material collection technique I used was library research. I collected all legal materials through literature searches in libraries, online legal databases, scientific journals, and official documents from judicial institutions. I accessed court decisions through the Supreme Court's decision directory. The type of research I employed was normative legal research, or library legal research. This type of research was chosen because its primary focus is analyzing legislation, jurisprudence, and legal doctrine relevant to post-divorce support. Normative legal research emphasizes the analysis of written law, whether contained in statutes, court decisions, or other official documents. I categorize this research as normative because its primary objective is to assess the consistency, certainty, and fairness of post-divorce support arrangements within the Indonesian family law system.

## Results and Discussion

### 1. Marriage and Divorce in Islamic Law

For Muslims, marriage regulations are also regulated more specifically in the Compilation of Islamic Law which serves as a guideline for religious courts in resolving family matters.<sup>6</sup>The Compilation of Islamic Law emphasizes that marriage is a very strong contract or mitsaqan ghalizha to obey Allah's commands and carrying it out is an act of worship.<sup>7</sup>The use of the term mitsaqan ghalizha shows that marriage is not just an ordinary contract, but an agreement that has a very strong moral and religious dimension. However, Islamic law also recognizes that not all marriages are harmonious. In reality, conflict in marriage is often unavoidable. Differences in character, financial issues, communication problems, and other factors can trigger disputes between husband and wife.<sup>8</sup>If the conflict cannot be resolved through peaceful means, then divorce is the last resort that can be taken to end the marital relationship.

Divorce in Islamic law is known as talaq. Generally, talaq is defined as the severance of the marital bond by a husband from his wife in a specific manner in accordance with Islamic law. More broadly, divorce encompasses all forms of termination of a marital relationship that are valid under Islamic law. Thus, divorce is a legal mechanism provided by Islamic law to terminate a marital relationship when the purpose of the marriage can no longer be achieved. Islam, in principle, discourages divorce. Marriage is viewed as a bond that must be protected and maintained to the fullest extent possible. Therefore, the Quran provides various mechanisms for resolving domestic conflict before divorce. For example, in Surah An-Nisa, verse 35, it is stated that if a dispute arises between a husband and wife, a mediator from the

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<sup>6</sup>Daulay, S., Arfa, FA, & Turnip, IRS (2025). Transformation of Islamic Family Law Through Religious Court Decisions. *Fatih: Journal of Contemporary Research*, 2(1), 577-586.

<sup>7</sup>Anam, K. (2019). Study of the Meaning of Marriage from a Legal Perspective in Indonesia. *Yustitiabelen*, 5(1), 59-67.

<sup>8</sup>Andu, CP (2021). Factors and Triggers of Husband-Wife Disputes in the Household. *Communications*, 3(1), 18-42.

husband's family and a mediator from the wife's family should be appointed to seek reconciliation. This mechanism demonstrates that Islam places a high priority on reconciliation before divorce is granted.

## 2. Maintenance in Islamic Law

Maintenance is one of the primary obligations in a household according to Islamic law. The concept of maintenance is not merely related to meeting economic needs, but also represents a form of moral and legal responsibility inherent in a husband towards his wife and children. From a sharia perspective, the obligation to provide maintenance is part of a family protection system aimed at ensuring the survival of family members and maintaining household stability.<sup>9</sup>

Scholars generally agree that these basic needs include food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities required to maintain a decent life.

The obligation to provide maintenance in Islamic law has a strong basis in the Koran. One of the verses that explicitly orders this obligation is in Surah An-Nisa verse 34:

الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا أَنْفَقُوا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ ۚ فَالصَّالِحَاتُ قَنَاطٌ حَافِظَاتٌ لِنَفْسِ مَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ تَعَالَى غَفُورٌ حَكِيمٌ ۚ

*Meaning: Men (husbands) are responsible for women (wives) because Allah has made some of them (men) excel others (women) and because they (men) have spent part of their wealth. The righteous women are those who obey (Allah) and guard themselves in (their husbands) absence because Allah has protected (them). As for those women about whom you fear nushuz, advise them, leave them in bed (separate beds), and (if necessary,) beat them (in a way that is not painful). But if they obey you, do not seek to cause them harm. Indeed, Allah is Most High, Most Great. (QS An-Nisa verse 34)*

Furthermore, the Quran also provides more detailed provisions regarding the standards for providing a living. In Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 233, it is explained that a father's obligation is to provide food and clothing to his mothers appropriately. This verse emphasizes that fulfilling the family's basic needs is the father's responsibility as head of the family. The principles used in this verse are propriety and ability, meaning that the amount of living expenses must be adjusted to the husband's economic situation.

﴿ وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ لِمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يُبْرِئَ الرِّضَاعَةَ ۗ وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ لَا تُكَلَّفُ نَفْسٌ إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا ۚ لَا تُضَارَّ وَالِدَةٌ بَوْلِدِهَا وَلَا مَوْلُودٌ لَهُ بِوَالِدِهِ وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ ۚ فَإِنْ أَرَادَا فِصَالًا عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِنْهُمَا وَتَشَاوُرٍ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا ۚ وَإِنْ أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ تُسْتَرْضِعُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذَا سَلَّمْتُمْ مَا آتَيْتُم بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ تَعْلَمُونَ ۚ

*Meaning: Mothers should breastfeed their children for two full years, for those who want to perfect breastfeeding. The father's obligation is to provide for their food and clothing in an appropriate manner. A person is not burdened, except according to his ability. Let not a mother be made to suffer because of her child, nor should a father be made to suffer because of his child. Heirs are like that too. If both want to wean (before two years) based on agreement and deliberation between the two, there is no sin on either of them. If you want to breastfeed your child (to someone else), there is no sin for you if you make payment in an appropriate way. Fear Allah and know that Allah is All-Seeing of what you do. (QS Al-Baqarah verse 233).*

In addition to the obligation to provide for one's wife, Islamic law also stipulates the obligation to provide for children. Children are a trust whose needs must be cared for and guaranteed by parents. In Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 233, it is stated that fathers are obligated to cover the living expenses and clothing of mothers who breastfeed their children. This verse demonstrates that the primary economic responsibility for children rests with the father.

Some scholars also add that sustenance includes additional needs such as health services, children's education costs, and other social needs required to maintain the family's quality of life.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the concept of maintenance in Islamic law is dynamic and can evolve according to social conditions. Scholars from various schools of thought hold relatively similar views regarding the obligation to provide maintenance. Scholars of the Maliki school argue that a husband's obligation to provide maintenance to his wife includes food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities commonly required by a woman in a household. Scholars of the Hanbali school also state that a husband is obligated to provide maintenance to his wife in accordance with prevailing social customs and his economic capabilities.

<sup>9</sup>Amburika, N. (2025). The Role of Islamic Law in Building a Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah Family Through the Maqashid al Syariah Approach in the Household. *Nusantara Law Journal*, 1(3), 249-259.

<sup>10</sup>Maghfurrohman, M., Fajariyani, N., & Mujib, LSB (2024). The Role of Fulfilling Family Needs: A Study of the Thoughts of Islamic Legal Scholars. *Ar-Risalah Islamic Media, Education and Islamic Law*, 22(1), 001-017.

### 3. Post-Divorce Maintenance from a Fiqh Perspective

From a fiqh perspective, the discussion of post-divorce maintenance cannot be separated from the classification of the type of marital dissolution.<sup>11</sup>The law on maintenance after divorce does not stand as a single provision, but rather changes according to the form of divorce, the status of the divorced woman, whether or not there is pregnancy, and whether or not there is a right to reconciliation.<sup>12</sup>Therefore, when discussing post-divorce maintenance, Islamic jurisprudence first distinguishes between *raj'i* divorce, *bain* divorce, *khulu'* divorce, and *fasakh* divorce. This distinction determines whether the ex-wife retains the right to maintenance, housing, *mut'ah* (a temporary residence), or only certain other rights. The starting point is that divorce in Islam does terminate the marriage bond, but it does not automatically nullify all legal consequences arising from the marriage, especially if there is still a waiting period, pregnancy, breastfeeding, or children to be cared for.

The first normative basis that becomes the basis for this discussion is Surah At-Talaq verse 1, verse 6, and verse 7. In verse 1, Allah commands that women who have been divorced are not removed from their homes for a certain period, which is understood by the ulama as the basis for the right of residence for women during the *iddah* period. In paragraph 6, it is emphasized that divorced wives should be placed in a place to live according to their husband's capabilities and not be inconvenienced, and if they become pregnant, they must be provided with support until they give birth.<sup>13</sup>Verse 7 emphasizes that those with ample means are obligated to provide according to their means, and those with limited means are obligated to provide according to what Allah has provided. From these verses, jurists have formulated the doctrine that post-divorce maintenance is fundamentally linked to two principles: the principle of protection for women who remain in the marriage, and the principle of proportionality according to the husband's ability.

Apart from the Koran, hadith is also an important basis. In the case of Fatimah bint Qais, the Prophet saw. state:

لَا سَكْنَىٰ لَكَ وَلَا نَفَقَةَ

Meaning: "You have no right of residence and no means of maintenance."

This hadith is narrated in Sahih Muslim and also in Sunan Ibn Majah in the context of a woman who has been divorced by her husband. This hadith is one of the main bases for differing opinions among scholars regarding the maintenance of a divorced woman, especially one who is not pregnant. From this, it is clear that the discussion of post-divorce maintenance in Islamic jurisprudence stems from a combination of general Quranic verses and hadiths that describe specific, concrete circumstances.

### 4. The Practice of Determining Post-Divorce Maintenance in Religious Court Decisions

Divorce in Islamic family law not only ends the marital relationship between husband and wife, but also gives rise to various legal consequences relating to the rights and obligations of the parties after the dissolution of the marriage.<sup>14</sup>One of the most important legal consequences of divorce is the obligation to provide post-divorce support, which the ex-husband must fulfill for his ex-wife and any children born of the marriage. In the context of the Indonesian legal system, the determination of post-divorce support obligations for Muslims is made through a ruling by a religious court, which has the authority to examine, hear, and decide marital matters.<sup>15</sup> In religious court practice, post-divorce maintenance determinations are not always uniform. Although Indonesian positive law provides a fairly clear normative basis for post-divorce maintenance obligations, judicial decisions demonstrate variations in the types of maintenance, amounts, and implementation mechanisms. Therefore, to understand how maintenance obligations are

<sup>11</sup>Bahri, S. (2025). Fulfillment of Child Support Rights After Divorce According to Marriage Law and Customary Law. *Journal of Social and Science (Sosains)*, 5(1).

<sup>12</sup>Indrajaya, DT (2025). Parents' Obligations to Fulfill Children's Support After Divorce from the Perspective of Sad Al-Dzariah (Doctoral Dissertation, Sultan Syarif Kasim State Islamic University, Riau).

<sup>13</sup>Devy, S., & Suheri, S. (2020). The Responsibility of the Husband's Maintenance from the Maliki School of Law Perspective and Its Relevance to the Current Context. *El-Urah: Journal of Family Law*, 3(2), 190-210.

<sup>14</sup>Ajisaputri, IL (2021). The dissolution of a marriage (divorce) is caused by a lack of mutual respect and appreciation between husband and wife. *Indonesian Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(5), 465664.

<sup>15</sup>Basir, FA (2026). Child Support Rights After Parental Divorce: A Case Study at the Karawang Religious Court (Doctoral dissertation, STAI DR KHEZ Muttaqien).

actually implemented in religious court practice, an empirical study of the patterns of maintenance determinations in religious court decisions is necessary. *First*, Judges' Considerations in Determining Maintenance: In every divorce case heard in a religious court, the judge has the authority to determine the various legal consequences that arise after the dissolution of the marriage. One of these legal consequences is the obligation to provide maintenance to the ex-husband and his children.<sup>16</sup>*Second*, Types of Support Ordered in Religious Court Decisions. In religious court practice, post-divorce support can encompass several different types of obligations. The types of support most frequently mentioned in religious court decisions include iddah (waiting period), mut'ah (waiting for a divorce), child support, and child maintenance or hadhanah (child support).

The following is a description of the types of maintenance that usually appear in divorce decisions in religious courts.

Table 4 Types of Post-Divorce Support in Religious Court Decisions

Type of Livelihood	Recipient	Objective
Iddah Maintenance	Ex-wife	Fulfilling living needs during the iddah period
Mut'ah	Ex-wife	Comfort and appreciation for divorce
Child Support	Child	Ensuring children's living and educational needs
Hadhanah Fees	Children through caregivers	Childcare and maintenance costs

From the table, it can be seen that the obligation to provide post-divorce support is not only limited to the relationship between the ex-husband and ex-wife, but is also closely related to the protection of children born from the marriage.

*Third*, Situations Where Support Is Not Ordered by a Judge: Although Indonesian positive law normatively regulates post-divorce support obligations, in practice, not all divorce decisions include orders regarding support. In some cases, judges do not order support for the ex-husband for various reasons that arise during the trial.

*Fourth*, Ex Officio Practices of Judges in Determining Support In recent years, the Supreme Court has encouraged judges in religious courts to use their ex officio authority to determine support after divorce. Ex officio authority means that a judge can determine support obligations even if it is not explicitly requested by the parties to the case.

The purpose of this policy is to ensure that the rights of women and children remain protected even if the litigants do not actively pursue them in a lawsuit.<sup>17</sup> By using ex officio authority, the judge can include rulings regarding iddah maintenance, mut'ah, and child maintenance in the divorce decision.

*Fifth*, Differences in Maintenance Determinations between Divorce by Talak and Divorce by Lawsuit. The differences in divorce types also influence the practice of maintenance determinations in religious court decisions. In general, divorce by talak and divorce by law suit have different characteristics, so the legal consequences can also differ. In cases of divorce by talaq, the divorce is initiated by the husband, who intends to divorce his wife. Because the divorce is initiated by the husband, many religious court decisions tend to stipulate the obligation of mut'ah (religious allowance) and iddah (waiting) maintenance for the ex-wife as the husband's responsibility for the dissolution of the marriage.

Meanwhile, in divorce cases filed by the wife, the practice of determining child support is often more varied. In some cases, judges still award iddah and mut'ah child support to the ex-wife if the divorce occurred due to the husband's fault, such as domestic violence, neglect, or prolonged disputes.<sup>18</sup> However, in other cases, a judge may rule that an ex-wife is not entitled to certain support if the divorce was due to fault on the part of the wife. Therefore, the practice of determining support in divorce cases often shows considerable variation. The following is a general overview of the differences in support determination practices between divorces by divorce and divorces by divorce.

<sup>16</sup>Alauddin, A. (2019). Legal analysis of the biological father's responsibility for child support after divorce. *Al-Ahkam Journal: Journal of Islamic Criminal Law*, 1(1), 1-24.

<sup>17</sup>Hidayati, IP (2025). Implementation of Women's Rights in Divorce Lawsuits at the Jepara Religious Court (Doctoral dissertation, Sultan Agung Islamic University, Semarang).

<sup>18</sup>Oktavia, ND, Khasanah, S., Sari, NAW, Perdana, LY, Salsabila, SE, Azzahra, ASP, & Sinawang, MF (2025). Legal Assistance for Women in Invisible Divorce Lawsuits Due to Domestic Violence and Neglect. *Journal of Legal Analysis*, 8(2), 119-136.

Table 5 Comparison of the Determination of Maintenance in Divorce by Talak and Divorce by Lawsuit

Type of Livelihood	Divorce	Divorce Lawsuit
Iddah Maintenance	Generally given	Depends on the reason for divorce
<i>Mut'ah</i>	Almost always given	Not always given
Child Support	Still given	Still given
Hadhanah Fees	Can be given	Can be given

The table shows that child support generally remains the responsibility of the father in both types of divorce, as this obligation relates to parental responsibility for the child. However, for iddah and mut'ah support, the practice of determining child support can differ between divorces involving divorce and divorces through a lawsuit.

*Sixth*, General Patterns of Child Support Determinations in Judicial Practice When viewed as a whole, the practice of post-divorce child support determinations in religious court decisions demonstrates several general patterns. First, judges generally continue to place the obligation to provide child support as the primary responsibility of the father. Second, iddah and mut'ah child support are more frequently encountered in divorce cases by divorce than in contested divorce cases. Third, the amount of child support awarded by the judge is highly dependent on the economic conditions of the parties. These patterns indicate that despite a relatively clear legal basis for post-divorce child support obligations, the practice of child support determinations in religious courts remains influenced by various factors related to the specific circumstances of the parties and the dynamics of the court process.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the practice of determining post-divorce maintenance in religious court decisions provides an empirical picture of how legal norms governing maintenance are applied in real life. This picture is crucial for understanding the dynamics of Islamic family law enforcement in Indonesia and serves as a basis for further analysis of disparities in decisions and the challenges of implementing post-divorce maintenance in religious court practice.

## 5. Reformulation of Post-Divorce Maintenance Arrangements in Islamic Family Law in Indonesia

Reformulation of post-divorce support regulations must begin with an affirmation of the basic principles that serve as the normative foundation for developing legal policy. Without a clear foundation of principles, any attempt to improve regulations will only result in partial changes and fail to address the root of the problem. In the context of Islamic family law in Indonesia, there are at least four fundamental principles that must form the basis for reformulating post-divorce support regulations: the principle of the best interests of the child, the principle of gender justice, the principle of maqasid sharia, and the principle of legal certainty.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Yuliani, Y., Sari, L., & Suwito, S. (2024). Effectiveness of Child Support Fulfillment After Divorce in the Jurisdiction of the Arso Religious Court. *Vifada Assumption Journal of Law*, 2(2), 50-60.

<sup>20</sup>Arfa, FA, & Turnip, IRS (2025). Divorce and Post-Divorce Rights in Islamic Family Law. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research*, 2(6), 494-508.

### a) Reformulation of the Standard Amount of Child Support

One of the most fundamental weaknesses in post-divorce child support arrangements within the Indonesian family law system is the lack of clear standards regarding the amount of support a father must provide to children after a divorce. In various regulations currently in effect, both the Marriage Law and the Compilation of Islamic Law, the father's obligation to provide child support has been legally affirmed.<sup>21</sup> However, these regulations do not provide concrete guidelines on how the amount of maintenance should be calculated. Consequently, determining the amount of maintenance in religious court practice depends heavily on the judge's assessment of the circumstances of the parties to the case.

This situation raises serious issues in legal practice. Without clear standards, judges have extensive discretion in determining the amount of child support. In one case, a judge may order child support at a few hundred thousand rupiah per month, while in another case with relatively similar economic circumstances, the judge may order much higher amounts. This wide variation demonstrates that the Indonesian family law system lacks a consistent and measurable model for determining child support. This lack of clarity in standards not only creates disparities in decisions but also undermines legal certainty for the public. Parties to a dispute cannot rationally estimate the amount of alimony the court will likely order. In many cases, this uncertainty even creates new conflicts between ex-husbands and ex-wives after a divorce, as each party has a different perception of what constitutes an appropriate amount of alimony.

Therefore, reformulation of post-divorce child support arrangements must be directed toward establishing clearer, more objective, and measurable standards for determining child support amounts. These standards are not intended to eliminate judicial discretion entirely, but rather to provide a basic framework that can be used as a reference for determining child support obligations more consistently. One approach that can be used to reformulate child support standards is a model for determining child support based on a percentage of the father's income. This model essentially places the father's economic capacity as the primary factor in determining the amount of support. This approach aligns with the principle of justice in Islamic law, which emphasizes that the obligation to provide support must be adjusted to the financial capacity of the party obligated to provide it.

The Qur'an provides very clear principles regarding this matter.

*"Let the person who has space provide a living according to his ability, and the person whose sustenance is limited should provide a living from what Allah has given him." (QS At Thalaq verse 7)*

This verse demonstrates that the obligation to provide maintenance must take into account the financial capacity of the person providing it. This principle not only emphasizes the father's obligation to provide maintenance, but also emphasizes that the amount of maintenance must be adjusted to the individual's financial capacity.<sup>22</sup> Based on this principle, a reformulation of the child support standard can adopt a percentage-of-the-father's-income model as the basis for calculation. In this model, the amount of child support is not determined in a fixed nominal amount, but rather as a specific percentage of the father's monthly income. This model has several advantages over the approach currently used in judicial practice.

*Firs*The percentage-of-income model provides a more proportional measure between child support obligations and the father's economic capacity. Second, this model is more easily adapted to changing economic conditions. Third, the percentage-of-income model can reduce disparities in decisions because judges have clearer guidelines in determining the amount of child support. In the context of the reformulation of Islamic family law in Indonesia, the amount of child support can be formulated within a certain percentage range of the father's income. For example, child support can be set at ten to thirty percent of the father's net monthly income. This range provides judges with flexibility to consider the number of children, educational needs, and the family's economic situation.

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<sup>21</sup>Putri, SR, & Yani, EA (2025). Comparative Study of the Rights of Child Support Born Out of Wedlock According to the Compilation of Islamic Law and the Civil Code. *Legal Standing: Journal of Legal Studies*, 9(3), 735-751.

<sup>22</sup>Niffilayani, A. (2025). A Father's Obligation to Provide for His Wife and Children: A Perspective of Islamic Law and Indonesian Positive Law. *Syariah: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, 2(1), 1-13.

In the proposed reformulation model, the court can use the regional minimum cost of living indicator as one of the parameters in determining the amount of child support.<sup>23</sup> This indicator can be taken from official statistical data on the minimum standard of living or the prevailing cost of living in a particular area. Using this indicator, the court can ensure that the maintenance assigned truly covers the child's basic needs. In addition to considering the father's income percentage and regional cost of living standards, reformulating child support standards must also consider the child's actual needs. Each child has different needs depending on their age, health, and level of education. School-age children naturally have different needs than toddlers.

#### **b) Reformulation of Child Support Duration**

One of the fundamental issues in post-divorce child support arrangements in Indonesia is the lack of a uniform standard regarding the duration of a father's child support obligation. This issue arises from differences in norms between various applicable regulations and differences in practice in religious court decisions. In some regulations, the child's age limit is set at eighteen. However, in religious court practice, the child support obligation is often set at twenty-one years of age or even until the child is deemed capable of living independently. This discrepancy creates significant legal uncertainty, as the public is uncertain about how long the child's support obligation must be fulfilled.<sup>24</sup>

The Child Protection Law defines a child as a person under the age of eighteen. This definition is often used by some judges to determine that child support obligations only last until that age. However, in religious court practice, this approach is not always strictly applied. Many judges establish child support obligations until the age of twenty-one, considering that children may not be financially independent at eighteen. In some decisions, child support obligations are even extended until the child completes their formal education. This difference shows that the family law system in Indonesia does not yet have consistent standards regarding the duration of child support obligations.<sup>25</sup> When some decisions set the age limit at eighteen and others at twenty-one, this creates a lack of consistency that can potentially create legal uncertainty. In the context of child protection, this kind of uncertainty cannot be tolerated, as it concerns the child's survival and future.<sup>26</sup>

Therefore, reformulation of child support regulations must include establishing national standards regarding the duration of child support obligations. This reformulation is necessary to resolve the conflicting norms between the definition of a child in child protection laws and religious court practices, which often use different age limits. These national standards are also needed to provide clear guidance for judges in determining child support obligations in divorce cases. In the context of reformulating family law in Indonesia, the duration of child support can be formulated using a two-stage model. This model provides clear national standards while allowing for adjustments based on the child's specific circumstances.

The first stage is establishing a minimum age limit for child support obligations. In this model, a father's child support obligations are set to last at least until the child reaches the age of twenty-one. Establishing twenty-one as the national standard has a strong basis both from a social perspective and from established religious court practices. Socially, the age of twenty-one is generally a transitional period for children toward economic independence. At this age, many children are still undergoing higher education or skills training, which prepare them for entering the workforce. If the obligation to provide for children ceases at eighteen, many children could potentially lose economic support at a time when they most need it. The second stage is the application of the principle of child independence. In this model, the obligation

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<sup>23</sup>Nugroho, B., & Santoso, APA (2026, January). Method for Calculating the Amount of Iddah Maintenance for Women After Divorce: Considering the Results of the BPS Cost of Living Survey as Notoirfeiten in Judges' Decisions. In Proceedings of the National Seminar on Law, Business, Science and Technology (Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 194-200).

<sup>24</sup>Subaekah, U. (2025). Analysis of Husband's Maintenance Obligation and the Concept of Joint Property in Islamic and Indonesian Law. *Lex Aeterna Law Journal*, 3(3), 106-112.

<sup>25</sup>Azis, Fitriah. Problems of Charging Maintenance in Divorce Cases at the Penajam Religious Court: The Perspective of Imam Al-Ghazali's *Mashlahah Murshalah* (Study of the Decision in Case Number: 55/Pdt. G/2022/PA. Pnj). Diss. Islamic University of Indonesia, 2025.

<sup>26</sup>Krisna, LA (2018). *Child Protection Law: A Guide to Understanding Children in Conflict with the Law*. Deepublish.

to provide for children can be extended beyond the age of twenty-one if the child still faces certain conditions that prevent them from living independently. These conditions can include certain situations, such as the child still undergoing formal education, the child having a disability, or the child having a health condition that prevents them from working.

Thus, reformulating the duration of child support is a crucial step in building a fairer and more structured family law system. National standards that stipulate child support obligations until the age of twenty-one or until the child is able to live independently could be a solution to end the conflict between the norm of eighteen years of age and judicial practices that often use different age limits. This reformulation not only provides legal certainty but also ensures that child protection is truly a top priority in resolving divorce cases in religious courts.

### c) Reformulation of Ex-Wife's Support Rights

One of the most problematic points in post-divorce maintenance arrangements in Islamic family law in Indonesia is the issue of the ex-wife's right to maintenance after divorce, especially in cases of divorce litigation.<sup>27</sup>In the normative construction contained in the Compilation of Islamic Law, the economic rights of the ex-wife, such as *mut'ah* (a type of temporary allowance) and *iddah* (a period of maintenance) are textually linked to divorce due to divorce. This formulation is clearly seen in Article 149 of the Compilation of Islamic Law, which states that if a marriage ends due to divorce, the ex-husband is obligated to provide reasonable *mut'ah* (a type of temporary allowance) to the ex-wife and provide maintenance during the *iddah* period.<sup>28</sup>The formulation of this norm implicitly places divorce as the main basis for the emergence of a husband's economic obligations towards his ex-wife.

Therefore, the reformulation of the regulation on ex-wife support must explicitly affirm the principle that in a divorce case, the ex-wife retains the right to receive *mut'ah* (a temporary residence) and *iddah* (waiting period) support as long as she is not proven to have committed *nusyuz* (*nusyuz*). This principle must be clearly outlined in the family law system to eliminate the need for differing interpretations among judges.

This reformulation can be formulated through several more systematic basic principles. First, the rights to *mut'ah* (retirement) and *iddah* (waiting) maintenance are essentially forms of economic protection for women after divorce. Therefore, these rights should not depend solely on who initiates the divorce but must consider the overall state of the household.<sup>29</sup>Second, in contested divorce cases, the judge must carry out a careful examination of whether the wife is proven to have committed *nusyuz*.<sup>30</sup>If there is no evidence that shows *nusyuz*, then the ex-wife is still entitled to *mut'ah* and *iddah* maintenance as part of the legal protection for women.

*Third*The granting of *mut'ah* and *iddah* maintenance must be viewed as part of efforts to maintain justice in divorce. Divorce should not leave women economically vulnerable without adequate protection. Fourth, in determining the amount of *mut'ah* and *iddah* maintenance, the court must consider the husband's economic capacity, the length of the marriage, and the socioeconomic status of the ex-wife after the divorce. This approach ensures that the economic obligations imposed on the husband remain proportionate and realistic.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Harahap, Ahmad Faris Rivaldi, and Arifuddin Muda Harahap. "The role of digitalization in increasing public participation in state governance decision-making." *EDUCATIO Journal: Indonesian Education Journal* 9.2 (2023): 769-776.

<sup>28</sup>Pratama, RP, Azkia, Z., & Ismail, ADB (2023). Imposition of Iddah and Mut'Ah Support in Divorce Cases in Review of Islamic Law in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Usroh: Journal of Islamic Family Law*, 7(1), 11-26.

<sup>29</sup>Maliki, Ibnu Akbar, and Qeis Aimar. "Reconceptualizing Amicable Divorce Based on the Mubadalah Paradigm: Efforts to Achieve Gender Justice in Indonesian Divorce Law." *Syakhshiyah Journal of Islamic Family Law* 5.2 (2025): 191-216.

<sup>30</sup>Yamamah, Ansari. "The existence of al-urf (social tradition) in Islamic law theory." *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 21.12 (2016): 43-48.

<sup>31</sup>Maliki, Ibnu Akbar, and Qeis Aimar. "Reconceptualizing Amicable Divorce Based on the Mubadalah Paradigm: Efforts to Achieve Gender Justice in Indonesian Divorce Law." *Syakhshiyah Journal of Islamic Family Law* 5.2 (2025): 191-216.

#### d) Reformulation of the Maintenance Implementation Mechanism

One of the most serious problems in Indonesia's post-divorce support legal system lies not in the absence of norms, but rather in the weak enforcement mechanisms for court decisions. In many divorce cases in religious courts, judges have clearly stipulated child support and ex-wife support obligations in their rulings.<sup>32</sup> However, the problem that arises is that these obligations are often not effectively implemented by the parties required to pay maintenance. As a result, court decisions, which should serve as legal protection, end up remaining at the formal level without effective coercive power.

This situation demonstrates a structural weakness in the system for enforcing alimony awards in Indonesia. The enforcement mechanism currently used still follows conventional civil procedure, which is not specifically designed to address ongoing alimony obligations. Under the current system, the enforcement of alimony awards relies heavily on the awareness and good faith of the party obligated to pay.<sup>33</sup> If the ex-husband does not have the awareness to carry out these obligations, then the ex-wife must submit an execution application to the court through a lengthy and often ineffective procedure.

As a result, many alimony decisions, formally binding but never fully enforced, are left unenforced. In situations like this, children and ex-wives, who should be protected by the law, are left in a highly vulnerable position.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the reformulation of post-divorce maintenance arrangements will not have any real meaning if it is not accompanied by a reformulation of the mechanism for implementing the maintenance obligation itself.

Reformulation of the maintenance mechanism must be directed at establishing a system capable of ensuring that maintenance obligations are truly fulfilled by those obligated to pay. This system must have effective enforcement and adequate oversight mechanisms. Without such mechanisms, all regulations regarding maintenance will remain mere norms that have no real impact on people's lives.

One of the most important reformulation steps is the implementation of an automatic salary deduction mechanism for those obligated to pay child support. Under this system, the court can order direct deductions from the ex-husband's monthly income in accordance with the amount of child support stipulated in the court decision. These deductions are made through the agency or company where the husband works, so that the child support can be directly distributed to the recipient.

In addition to the salary deduction mechanism and the maintenance account, the reformulation of the maintenance implementation system must also be equipped with strict administrative sanctions against fathers who neglect to fulfill their maintenance obligations.<sup>35</sup> Until now, the Indonesian family law system has lacked strong sanctions to force ex-husbands to fulfill their child support obligations. As a result, many parties easily ignore court decisions without facing significant consequences.

In the proposed reformulation system, the court would not only act as a decision-making body but also as an institution that oversees the ongoing implementation of alimony obligations. The court could establish a periodic reporting mechanism regarding the implementation of alimony payments. Through this mechanism, the ex-husband would be required to submit reports on the implementation of his alimony obligations within a specified period.

#### Conclusion

The legal provisions regarding post-divorce support in the Islamic family law system in Indonesia are essentially regulated in various legal instruments, both those originating from Islamic law and national positive law. From an Islamic legal perspective, the obligation to provide support for children remains with

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<sup>32</sup>Nebi, O. (2021). Domestic Violence Law: "Perspective of Legal Protection Theory". CV. Azka Pustaka.

<sup>33</sup>Kamra, S., Baedah, SSA, & Syahid, A. (2026). Analysis of the Implementation of the Maros Religious Court Class 1b Decision Regarding Husband's Maintenance Owed to Wife from the Perspective of Maqashid Asy-Syaria (Case Study: Decision No. 374/Pdt. G/2024/Pa. Mrs). Pendas: Scientific Journal of Elementary Education, 11(01), 146-158.

<sup>34</sup>Nebi, O. (2021). Domestic Violence Law: "Perspective of Legal Protection Theory". CV. Azka Pustaka.

<sup>35</sup>Indrajaya, DT (2025). Parents' Obligations to Fulfill Children's Support After Divorce from the Perspective of Sad Al-Dzariah (Doctoral Dissertation, Sultan Syarif Kasim State Islamic University, Riau).

the father even after a divorce, as emphasized in the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith and reinforced by the views of Islamic jurists. Meanwhile, support for the ex-wife includes mut'ah, iddah support, maskan, and kiswah, which are in principle granted when a divorce occurs through talaq, whereas in a sued divorce, these rights were not initially expressly recognized except under certain conditions such as the absence of nusyuz elements. Reformulation of post-divorce support regulations in Islamic family law in Indonesia needs to be carried out through a more systematic approach that places the best interests of the child, gender justice, and the principle of maqasid sharia as the main basis for legal reform.

The reformation should include harmonizing regulations governing post-divorce child support, establishing national standards for the amount of child support based on a percentage of the father's income and the child's actual needs, and affirming the duration of the child support obligation until the child reaches twenty-one years of age or is able to live independently. Furthermore, the reformulation should clarify the ex-wife's right to child support in divorce cases, taking into account the actual circumstances of the marital relationship and the principles of substantive justice. This legal reform should also be accompanied by strengthening the mechanism for implementing child support through a salary deduction system, the establishment of a child support escrow account, and court oversight of child support payments. With these steps, the Islamic family law system in Indonesia is expected to provide legal certainty while ensuring fairer protection for children and ex-wives after divorce.

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